

In fact

An Antidote for Falsehood in the Daily Press

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George Seldes, Editor

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Red See Page 3

Re-entered as second class matter, March 12, 1941, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

(Exclusive)

WAR DEPARTMENT WARNS 10,000,000 SOLDIERS AGAINST U. S. FASCISM, AS VICTORY NEARS

ON OCTOBER 9 1944 this weekly published one of the most important news stories in the history of this war: General Marshall's orders to the Army to fight the lying campaign of the American press and the American radio directed against the workers of the nation who had built the war machine which made victory over fascism possible.

This was a world scoop. It is more than likely that the newspapers which spent millions for news had the story and suppressed it, because it gave official notice to the fact that press and radio were serving the enemy by creating hate against labor, disunity, conflict. Gen Marshall declared that there was only one front, that fighting front and home front were part of the same war.

Anti-Fascist Teaching Opposed

More than half the war is about won. Nazi Germany is crushed between the Allies on the West (Americans, British, Canadians, French) and the Soviets on the East. The most powerful of all fascist countries has been defeated.

However, from the beginning of the war there was an evident effort made by certain interests and persons to keep America ignorant of what the war was about. Pearl Harbor was played up, it was pointed out that America was attacked and had to defend herself, that Hitler declared war on the United States, etc. Nothing was said about the real cause of the war, the international fascist plot, the Anti-Komintern Pakt, which Hitler signed with many nations, and its propaganda division which incidentally notable Americans such as ex-Congressman Hamilton Fish, endorsed. In Congress especially there was open opposition to educating both the soldiers in the training camps and the civilian population about the nature of our enemy, world fascism.

Anti-Fascist Pamphlet Suppressed

The Office of Facts & Figures—later called the Office of War Information—published a great document against world fascism. It was called "Divide & Conquer" and showed how in the United States men, organizations, newspapers, radio commentators and others were following the Hitler line of dividing the American people. Hatred of labor unions (spread by the American press in the pay of corporations), religious hatred, mostly anti-Semitism, Jimcrowsism, and similar Hitlerian tactics were exposed in the official US govt pamphlet.

Congressmen, notorious as reactionaries, succeeded in forcing the suppression of the circulation of these official publications. OWI propaganda funds were also cut.

Not One U S Anti-Fascist Publication

Up to recently there was no known statement available exposing or fighting fascism issued officially by the US Government. Some 12,000,000 men and women were prepared to fight fascism, but they and the public were not given either facts or propaganda against fascism. From 1940 to 1943 the press of the nation was filled with statements critical of the morale of the armed forces, mostly in the training camps.

Within the past year, thanks to the labor and influence of Major General F H Osborn, chief of the morale division, the entire situation has been changed.

Not only has the vast campaign of educating the army, and thereby raising its morale, succeeded, but the War Department has been more forthright than what is so humorously called the American free press. The War Department has issued fact sheets, information guides, lecture summaries, etc, some critical of press and radio on the labor question; it has issued a pamphlet on Spain which lays the blame for the Franco uprising on international fascism and exposes most of the lies published in the lay and clerical press against the Loyalists; it has indicted big business interests behind world fascism; it has issued an order against Army Jim Crow; it has, in a way, done the same kind of exposés which IN FACT is doing.

Official Attack on Native Fascism

And now that the Nazi part of fascism is falling apart, Germany follows Italy in defeat, and Japan is sure to follow in quicker order, the War Department takes a vast stride ahead, and publishes a statement on a subject which the majority of newspapers and radio stations and the standard means of information and communication dare not mention: native American fascism. Not only does the War Department bring this to light but it tells the 175,000 orientation and education officers of the armed services to hold discussion groups, prepare lectures, and help prepare the minds of our 10,000,000 now in the services to combat native fascism at home when they return to civil life.

Here is the major part of the text of the official instruction sheets as sent to IN FACT by several officers, one in New Guinea, and passed by the censorship.

TEXT OF U S EXPOSE OF NATIVE FASCISM

WAR DEPARTMENT

Washington 25, D C

24 March 1945

F A S C I S M !

NOTE FOR THIS WEEK'S DISCUSSION:

Fascism is not the easiest thing to identify and analyze; nor, once in power, is it easy to destroy. It is important

for our future and that of the world that as many of us as possible understand the causes and practices of fascism, in order to combat it. Points to stress are: (1) Fascism is more apt to come to power at a time of economic crisis; (2) fascism inevitably leads to war; (3) it can come in any country; (4) we can best combat it by making our democracy work.

YOU ARE AWAY FROM HOME, separated from your families, no longer at a civilian job or at school and many of you are risking your very lives because of a thing called fascism. . . .

We Americans have been fighting fascists for more than three years. When Cecil Brown, one of the leading war correspondents, came back from the battle fronts, he went on a trip that took him into big cities and small towns all over America. He talked and listened to all kinds of people. He found that most Americans are vague about just what fascism really means. He found few Americans who were confident they would recognize a fascist if they saw one.

And are we in uniform any more certain what fascism is—where it came from—what made it strong? Do we know how fascism leads men to do the things done to people at Maidanek? Do we know how it leads them to attack helpless nations? Are Maidaneks and war inevitable results of fascism? Do all fascists speak only German, Italian or Japanese—or do some of them speak our language? Will military victory in this war automatically kill fascism? Or could fascism rise in the United States after it's been crushed abroad? What can we do to prevent it?

Perhaps we ought to get to know the answers. If we don't understand fascism and recognize fascism when we see it, it might crop up again—under another label—and cause another war.

Fascism and Business

Fascism is a way to run a country—it's the way Italy was run, and the way Germany and Japan are run. [1] Fascism is the precise opposite of democracy. The people run democratic governments, but fascist governments run the people.

Fascism is government by the few and for the few. The objective is seizure and control of the economic, political, social, and cultural life of the state. Why? The democratic way of life interferes with their methods and desire for: (1) conducting business; (2) living with their fellow-men; (3) having the final say in matters concerning others, as well as themselves. The basic principles of democracy stand in the way of their desires; hence—democracy must go! Anyone who is not a member of their inner gang has to do what he's told. They permit no civil liberties, no equality before the law. . . . They maintain themselves in power by use of force combined with propaganda based on primitive ideas of "blood" and "race," by skillful manipulation of fear and hate, and by false promise of security. The propaganda glorifies war and insists it is smart and "realistic" to be pitiless and violent.

Question: How does fascism get in power? How can a violent program that enslaves the people win any support?

Financial Interests Behind Fascism

Fascism came to power in Germany, Italy and Japan at a time of social and economic unrest. A small group of men, supported in secret by powerful financial and military interests, convinced enough insecure people that fascism would give them the things they wanted. . . .

At the very time that the fascists proclaimed that their party was the party of the "average citizen," they were in the pay of certain big industrialists and financiers who wanted to run the people with an iron hand.

The fascists promised everything to everyone: They would make the poor rich and the rich richer. To the farmers, the fascists promised land through elimination of large estates. To the workers they promised elimination of unemployment—jobs for all at high wages. To the small business men they promised more customers and profits through the elimination of large business enterprises. To big business men and the industrialists they secretly promised greater security and profits through the elimination of small business competitors and trade unions and the crushing of socialists and communists. To the whole nation they promised glory and wealth by conquest. They asserted it was their right, as a "superior people," to rule the world.

As soon as these methods had won them enough of a following to form their Storm Troops, the fascists began using force to stifle and wipe out any opposition. Those who saw through the false front of fascism and opposed them were beaten, tortured and killed.

The fascists knew that all believers in democracy were their enemies. They knew that the fundamental principle of democracy—faith in the common sense of the common people—was the opposite of the fascist principle of rule by the elite few. So they fought democracy in all its phases. . . . They played the political, religious, social and economic groups against each other and seized power while these groups struggled against each other.

Little Business Betrayed

Question: How could the fascists keep their contradictory promises, once they got in power? How did their program actually work out?

It was easy enough for the fascists to promise all things to all people before they were in power. Once they were actually in power, they could not, of course, keep their contradictory promises. They had intended in advance to break some, and they did break those they had made to the middle classes, the workers, and the farmers.

As soon as the fascists were in control of the government, the torturings and killings were no longer the unlawful acts of a political party and its hoodlum gangs. They became official government policy. Among the first victims of this official policy were those farmers, workers, and small business men who had believed the promises that had been made to them and who complained that they had been "sucked in." Some simply vanished. Often they came home to their families by return mail in little jars of ashes. . . .

The fascists "solved" unemployment by converting their nations into giant war machines. The unemployed were either conscripted into the army or organized in labor battalions and put to work in war plants.

Why Fascists Are Anti-Union

Deprived of their unions, the working people could be driven to work longer and harder for less and less money, so that those who subsidized and ran fascism could grow richer. By wiping out all internal competition—especially the small and medium-sized business firms—profits were increased still higher for the handful on top. In some cases, the fascists then gobbled control of the top corporations. The living standards of the masses of the people declined, of course. As they earned less and less, they were able to buy less and less of the goods they produced. . . .

Once the fascists were in control of the government, not even the gang on top was safe from its own members. There would be more loot and power per fascist leader if some fascist leaders were eliminated. Some of the party "big-shots" and some of those who had helped them take over were therefore "purged." Many would-be partners in the dictatorship, including some industrialists, wound up in jail, in exile, or dead. [2]

Can It Happen Here?

Some Americans would give an emphatic "No" to the question "Can fascism come to America after it has been defeated abroad?" They would say that Americans are too smart, that they are sold on the democratic way of life, that they wouldn't permit any group to put fascism over in America. Fascism, some might say, is something peculiar that you find only among people who like swastikas, who like to listen to speeches from balconies in Rome, or who like to think that their emperor is god. Their reaction might be that it is something "foreign" that Americans would recognize in a minute, like the goose-step. They might feel that we'd laugh it out of existence in a hurry.

U S Has 100% American Fascists

Question: Do all fascists come from Germany, Japan, or Italy?

In a good many European nations, the people felt the same way some of us do: that fascism was foreign to them and could never become a power in their land. They found, however, that fascist-minded people within their borders, especially with aid from the outside, could seize power. The Germans, of course, made efficient use of fascist-minded traitors whom we have come to know generally as "the fifth column."

In France, which was considered a leading democracy of Europe, the betrayal was spearheaded by a powerful clique of native "100% French" fascists. [3] Norway had its Quisling who was as "pure-blooded" a Norwegian as Laval was a "pure-blooded" Frenchman. The Netherlands' Musserts were "100% Dutch," Belgium's Degrelles "100% Belgian," and Britain's Mosleys "100% British." The United States also has its native fascists who say that they are "100 percent American." There were native fascists in the Philippines, in Thailand (Siam), in China, in Burma, in many other countries—all waiting to become willing puppets of the Axis. Not one of these fascists is a "foreigner" who had to be imported from Germany, or Japan, or Italy.

Question: Have any groups in America used fascist tactics and appeals?

Most of the people in America like to be good neighbors. But, at various times and places in our history, we have had sorry instances of mob sadism, lynchings, vigilantism, terror, and suppression of civil liberties. We have had our hooded gangs, Black Legions, Silver Shirts, and racial and religious bigots. All of them, in the name of Americanism, have used undemocratic methods and doctrines which experience has shown can be properly identified as "fascist."

Crackpots and Alleged Seditonists

Can we afford to brush them off as mere crackpots? We once laughed Hitler off as a harmless little clown with a funny mustache.

In January 1944, 30 Americans, many of them native born, were indicted by a Federal Grand Jury on charges of conspiring with "the Nazi party to accomplish the objectives of said Nazi party in the United States." These objectives, according to the indictment, included undermining and impairing "the loyalty and morale of the military and naval forces of the United States." The case ended in a mistrial caused by the death of the presiding judge. The question of re-indictment is still under consideration. [4]

Whenever free governments anywhere fail to solve their basic economic and social problems, there is always the danger that a native brand of fascism will arise to exploit the situation and the people.

Can We Spot It?

Question: How can we identify native American fascists at work?

An American fascist seeking power would not proclaim that he is a fascist. Fascism always camouflages its plans and purposes. Hitler made demagogic appeals to all groups and swore: "Neither I nor anybody in the National Socialist Party advocates proceeding by anything but constitutional methods."

Any fascist attempt to gain power in America would not use the exact Hitler pattern. It would work under the guise of "super-patriotism" and "super-Americanism." Fascist leaders are neither stupid nor naive. They know that they must hand out a line that "sells." Huey Long is said to have remarked that if fascism came to America, it would be on a program of "Americanism."

Three Ways to Spot U S Fascists

Fascists in America may differ slightly from fascists in other countries, but there are a number of attitudes and practices that they have in common. Following are three. Every person who has one of them is not necessarily a fascist. But he is in a mental state that lends itself to the acceptance of fascist aims.

1. Pitting of religious, racial, and economic groups against one another in order to break down national unity is a device of the "divide and conquer" technique used by Hitler to gain power in Germany and in other countries. With slight variations, to suit local conditions, fascists everywhere have used this Hitler method. In many countries, anti-Semitism (hatred of Jews) is a dominant device of fascism. In the United States, native fascists have often been anti-Catholic, anti-Jew, anti-Negro, anti-Labor, anti-foreign-born. In South America, the native fascists use the same scapegoats except that they substitute anti-Protestantism for anti-Catholicism.

Interwoven with the "master race" theory of fascism is a well-planned "hate campaign" against minority races, religions, and other groups. To suit their particular needs and aims, fascists will use any one or a combination of such groups as a convenient scapegoat.

2. Fascism cannot tolerate such religious and ethical concepts as the "brotherhood of man." Fascists deny the need for international cooperation. These ideas contradict the fascist theory of the "master race." The brotherhood of man implies that all people—regardless of color, race, creed, or nationality—have rights. International cooperation, as expressed in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, runs counter to the fascist program of war and world domination. . . . Right now our native fascists are spreading anti-British, anti-Soviet, anti-French, and anti-United Nations propaganda. . . .

3. It is accurate to call a member of a communist party a "communist." For short, he is often called a "Red." Indiscriminate pinning of the label "Red" on people and proposals which one opposes is a common political device. It is a favorite trick of native as well as foreign fascists.

Many fascists make the spurious claim that the world has but two choices—either fascism or communism, and they label as "communist" everyone who refuses to support them. By attacking our free enterprise, capitalist democracy and by denying the effectiveness of our way of life they hope to trap many people.

Hitler's Red Bogey

Hitler insisted that only fascism could save Europe and the world from the "communist menace." There were many people inside and outside Germany and Italy who welcomed and supported Hitler and Mussolini because they believed fascism was the only safeguard against communism. The "Red bogey" was a convincing enough argument to help Hitler take and maintain power. The Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis, whose aggressions plunged the world into global war, was called the "Anti-Comintern Axis." It was proclaimed by Hitler, Mussolini, and Hirohito as a "bulwark against communism."

Learning to identify native fascists and to detect their techniques is not easy. They plan it that way. But it is vitally important to learn to spot them, even though they adopt names and slogans with popular appeal, drape themselves with the American flag, and attempt to carry out their program in the name of the democracy they are trying to destroy.

How to Stop It

Question: How can we prevent fascism from developing in the United States?

The only way to prevent fascism from getting a hold in America is by making our democracy work and by actively cooperating to preserve world peace and security.

Lots of things can happen inside of people when they are unemployed or hungry. They become frightened, angry, desperate, confused. Many, in their misery, seek to find somebody to blame. They look for a scapegoat as a way out. Fascism is always ready to provide one. In its bid for power, it is ready to drive wedges that will disunite the people and weaken the nation. It supplies the scapegoat—Catholics, Jews, Negroes, labor unions, big business—any group upon which the insecure and unemployed can be brought to pin the blame for their misfortune. [5]

We all know that many serious problems will face us when the war is over. If there is a period of economic stress it will create tensions among our people, including us as returned veterans. The resentment may be directed against minorities—especially if undemocratic organizations with power and money can direct our emotions and thinking along these lines.

Citizen's Job to Fight Fascism

The fascist doctrine of hate fulfills a triple mission. By creating disunity—it weakens democracy. By getting men to hate rather than to think—it prevents men from seeking the real cause and a democratic solution of the problem. By fake promises of jobs and security, fascism then tries to lure men to its program as the way out of insecurity. Only

by democratically solving the economic problems of our day can there be any certainty that fascism won't happen here. **That is our job as citizens.**

Citizenship in a democracy is more than a ballot dropped in a box on Election Day. It's a 365-days-a-year job requiring the active participation and best judgment of every citizen in the affairs of his community, his nation, and his country's relations with the world.

Fascism thrives on indifference and ignorance. It makes headway when people are apathetic or cynical about their government—when they think of it as something far removed from them and beyond their personal concern. The erection of a traffic light on your block is important to your safety and the safety of your children. The erection of a

NATIVE AMERICAN FASCISTS NOT NAMED IN DOCUMENT

THE FOREGOING document will probably go down in history as one of the most important US official statements on both foreign and native fascism.

However, General Osborn and the War Department were not in a position to name the real leadership of American fascism. Nor could they name as fascist those countries with whom the US maintains diplomatic relations.

There are five numbers in brackets inserted in the document. Here are the explanations:

(1) The document names only Italy, Germany and Japan. Spain and Portugal, which answer the description of fascism 100%, are not named. Neither is there any mention of the recent fascist Polish regime dominated by the landowning princes and the clique of colonels.

Betrayal by "Upper Class"

(2) The document states that backers of Hitlerism were also purged. Only one corporation head, however, was deprived of his wealth: Fritz Thyssen. Thyssen organized the money assessments on steel and coal production which made Hitler, but Thyssen was a good Catholic and protested the murder of Jews. His wealth was confiscated. But his brother, Baron Thyssen-Bornimitza, took Fritz's place. No other big backer of Naziism suffered—only small business men and the workers. Naziism, like Mussolini's fascism, and American fascism, is backed by the wealthiest class.

(3) The French fascists who betrayed their nation were the 200 leading families, the directors of the Banque de France, the merchants of death and the biggest business interests.

(4) The 30 indicted were with one or two exceptions known as "vermin" fascists, the little fascists, hysteria cases such as Mrs Dilling, religious fanatics, crackpots. One real fascist is Lawrence Dennis, writer, associate of Paul Palmer and Lawrence E Spivak on the American Mercury, where Dennis published his fascist propaganda. (Palmer is now senior editor of Reader's Digest.)

Leading U S Fascists Named

There are numerous more important and more powerful fascists who were not indicted. Here, for example, are those named by the Attorney General of the US (and now Supreme Court Justice) Robert H Jackson:

Major General Van Horn Moseley who was associated with numerous fascists, including wealthy men, who wanted him to seize the government.

H W Prentis jr, president of the National Association of Manufacturers (at the time Jackson listed him), the most powerful organization in America, which has the most powerful lobby influencing legislation in Congress and which controls the American Newspaper Publishers Assn (according to Monograph 26, TNEC, Monopoly Investigation).

The Saturday Evening Post, which began publishing pro-Mussolini propaganda in the 1920's and which preceded the Reader's Digest as the leading reactionary, biased, and pro-fascist popular magazine in the country.

Col Lindbergh, whose writings in Reader's Digest on race, color and blood were 100% in the Hitler propaganda line.

Merwin K Hart, president of N Y State Economic Council, now president of the National Economic Council, a big corporation pro-fascist outfit of the type of Publisher Gannett's Committee for Constitutional Govt and Joseph Kamp's Constitutional Educational League.

League for Constitutional Govt. Attorney Genl Jackson, made a typographical error here. He accuses this outfit of fighting the income tax. It is the Gannett-Peale-Rumely Committee for Constitutional Govt.

(Source: Mr Justice Jackson's list of American fascists

world organization to safeguard peace and world security is just as important to our personal security. Both must be the concern of every citizen.

Freedom, like peace and security, cannot be maintained in isolation. It involves being alert and on guard against the infringement not only of our own freedom but the freedom of every American. If we permit discrimination, prejudice, or hate to rob **anyone** of his democratic rights, our own freedom and all democracy is threatened.

What is true of America is true of the world. The germ of fascism cannot be quarantined in a Munich Brown House or a balcony in Rome. If we want to make certain that fascism does not come to America, we must make certain that it does not thrive anywhere in the world.

will be found in the Law Journal of the Law Society of Massachusetts, Nov 1940. His address naming the fascists was suppressed in about 98% of the press).

(5) The document says that fascists make scapegoats of minorities, such as Catholics, Jews, Negroes, labor unions, and "big business."

There is no historical evidence of big business ever being made a scapegoat or being attacked by fascism, inasmuch as big business in every known case and in every country is the paymaster of fascism. The document might have meant little business. It could also have differentiated between such business as is represented by Eric Johnston, head of the US Chamber of Commerce, and such business as is represented by the DuPonts, Alfred P Sloan, Joe Pew and other Pews, Girdler of Republic Steel, Weir of Weirton. These are the men who now control the National Association of Manufacturers, which failed to sign the labor-industry charter with Johnston, AFL head Green and CIO head Murray. General Motors, Sunoco, the heads of little steel, and other NAM heads were exposed by the Senator (now Supreme Court Justice) Black lobby investigation as the main subsidizers of twenty native fascist organizations.

Important Book Notice

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Books by George Seldes

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